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Parent-centered values among Latino immigrant mothers.

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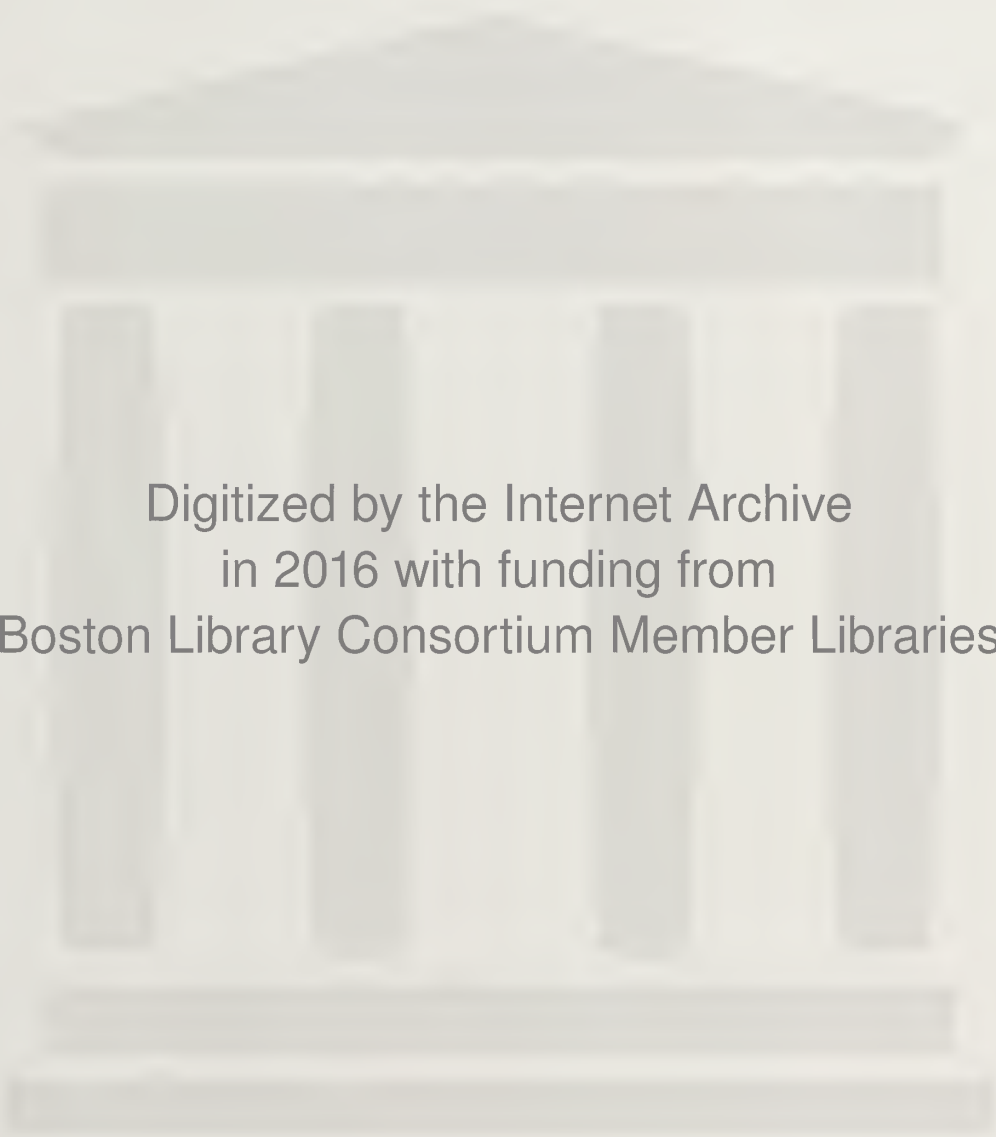
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PARENT-CENTERED VALUES AMONG LATINO IMMIGRANT MOTHERS

A Dissertation Presented

by

CANDICE FISCHER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Clinical Psychology

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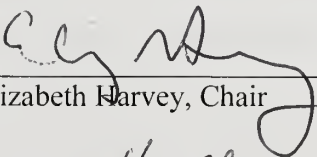
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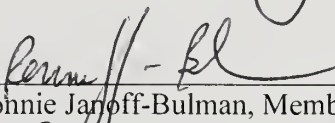
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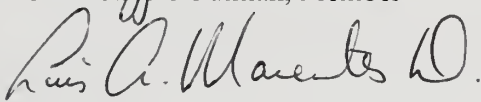
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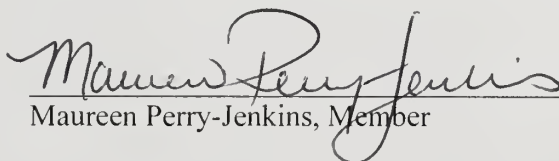
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ABSTRACT

PARENT-CENTERED VALUES AMONG LATINO IMMIGRANT MOTHERS

MAY 2008

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The present study examined parent-centered values among 98 Latino mothers living in the U.S. with at least one child between the ages of one and eleven years old. Paired sample t-tests were used to compare parenting qualities thought to be valued most with those thought to be valued less. Results revealed that Relational Qualities, Role Modeling values, Family Loyalty, and Firm Control were highly valued, whereas qualities that promote a Stimulating Environment, qualities associated with Low Parental Control, and having Economic resources were rated relatively low. Participants also perceived these last three dimensions as significantly more valued by mothers in the dominant culture than by Latino mothers. Overall results were consistent with the hypothesis that Latino mothers endorse parent-centered values that adhere to a relational perspective, which emphasizes affection and loyalty towards other family members. Findings also supported the notion that Latino parenting values

may be more consistent with an authoritative rather than an authoritarian parenting style.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Despite a broad consensus about parenting's strong influence on child development and its relation to a variety of outcomes in children, such as school performance, delinquency and internalized distress, the understanding of parenting as a construct is still modest (Brenner & Fox, 1999; Cowan, Powell & Cowan, 1998). One area in particular that is poorly understood is parenting values and beliefs, with most research focusing on parenting practices (Sheinberg, 2004; Tamis-LeMonda, Wang, Koutsouvanou & Albright, 2002). Developing a better understanding of parenting values and beliefs may be particularly important in gaining insight into the cultural context of parenting, which is another understudied research area.

Although there has been a growing interest in recent years in studying cultural differences in childrearing practices, many have noted the dearth of research in this area (i.e. Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Harwood, Leyendecker, Carlson, Asencio & Miller, 2002). Most of the available parenting models are based on an Anglo-American conceptualization of parenting that may not accurately reflect values, beliefs, or parenting practices prevalent in families of culturally diverse origins (Sheinberg, 2004). Developing models that articulate the interrelations between parenting values, beliefs, and practices may allow researchers to gain a more complete understanding of cultural differences and similarities in parenting.

The need to better understand parenting within Latino families is particularly salient if we consider the increasing population of Latinos in the United States. By the

year 2050, the Latino population will represent more than 24% of the United States total population, compared to 12% in 2000. Moreover, Latino infants (0-5 years old) will represent 33% of the infant population in the United States in 2050, compared to 19% in 2000 (U.S.Census Bureau, 2002).

Theoretical Models of Parenting

Baumrind's conceptualization of Parenting Styles

There are many ways of conceptualizing and assessing parenting. In the U.S., much research on parenting relies heavily on Diana Baumrind's (1971) pioneering conceptualization of parenting style. Baumrind (1971, 1991) identified three types of parenting styles along the dimensions of demandingness and responsiveness, and linked these styles to children's outcomes. She defined demandingness as "the claims parents make on the child to become integrated into the family whole by their maturity demands, supervision, disciplinary efforts and willingness to confront the child who disobeys". Responsiveness, on the other hand, addressed those "actions that intentionally foster individuality, self-regulation and self-assertion by being attuned, supportive and acquiescent to the child's special needs and demands" (1991, p.748). Baumrind used the concepts of responsiveness and demandingness to reflect the balance of demands between society and the individual. Moreover, her work revolved around parental control as the key element in the socialization of the child, with parental control defined as parents' attempt to socialize their child in order for the child to comply with family and societal demands without losing his/her sense of individual integrity.

As part of this framework, Baumrind (1967, 1991) postulated three parenting styles: The first, *Authoritarian*, reflects high demandingness and low responsiveness.

Authoritarian parents are punitive, status-oriented, and focus on gaining a child's obedience to parental demands rather than responding to the demands of the child. In contrast, *Permissive* parents are more responsive to their children than they are demanding, but do not set appropriate limits on their children's behavior. The third style, *Authoritative*, reflects high demandingness and high responsiveness. These parents are flexible and responsive to the child's needs but still enforce reasonable standards of conduct (Brenner & Fox, 1999). An authoritative style has been consistently associated with the successful socialization of children into the dominant culture of the United States. It has also been shown to help children develop instrumental competences characterized by the balance between individual and societal demands and responsibilities (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Most research on Baumrind's styles has focused on European-American children, thus, many questions remain regarding the role of ethnicity and social background in parenting. The influence of any parenting style is likely to vary according to the social milieu in which the family is embedded (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Moreover, there is some evidence that parenting styles may have disparate effects on children of different ethnic backgrounds. For example, Baumrind (1972) reported that authoritarian parenting, which is generally associated with fearful, timid behavior and behavioral compliance among European-American children, is associated with assertiveness among African-American girls. Similarly some studies have found punitive parenting to be associated with behavior problems in European American children but not African American children (Deater-Deckert, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1996).

Furthermore, research has consistently shown that authoritative parenting is strongly associated with academic achievement for European-American adolescents, but is least effective in influencing academic achievement for adolescents from other ethnic backgrounds (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987). Theory and research is needed to develop a better understanding of the role that culture plays in how parenting influences children's development. Gaining insight into parenting goals, beliefs, and values may be an important first step in understanding how the impact of parenting style and practices on children may vary across cultures.

Darling and Steinberg's Integrative Model: Parenting Style as a Context

In an effort to better understand the processes through which parenting style influences child development, Darling and Steinberg (1993) proposed their *Integrative Model* or *Contextual Model of Parenting*. They argued in favor of disentangling three aspects of parenting: 1) the goals toward which socialization is directed, 2) the parenting practices used by parents to help their children reach these goals, and 3) the parenting style, or emotional climate, within which socialization occurs (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Their model suggests a sophisticated inter-relation among these three constructs. It expands on the notion, derived from previous research, that the values and socialization goals parents hold for their children are essential in determining parenting behaviors. Darling and Steinberg (1993) go a step further and propose that two attributes of parenting, parenting practices and parenting style, are influenced by these values and goals.

Parenting practices are understood as behaviors dictated by specific socialization goals that operate in circumscribed socialization domains, such as academic achievement

or cooperation with peers (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). For example, *making time for the child to do homework* might be a parenting practice geared towards the socialization goal of school achievement. Darling and Steinberg (1993) defined parenting style, on the other hand, as a “constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child and create an emotional climate in which the parent’s behaviors are expressed” (p. 488). In other words, parenting style encompasses emotional attitudes that are not necessarily goal defined (e.g., tone of voice, body language, inattention).

These attitudes differ from parenting practices in two ways. Unlike the former, parenting style is independent of the content of the parenting behavior. Darling and Steinberg (1993) illustrate this through an example of Baumrind’s authoritative parent. One mother with an authoritative style (e.g., engaging with warmth, giving clear expectations) can have a policy that homework needs to be done before the child initiates another activity, while a second authoritative parent might require outdoor exercise before completing the homework. Both parents have an authoritative style but differ in their socialization practices (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). A parent with an authoritarian style may engage in a similar practice but do it without explaining his/her reasoning or expressing expectations in a stern voice.

A second way in which parenting attitudes and practices differ is that parenting style conveys the parent’s attitude toward the child rather than toward the child’s behavior (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). In this model, parenting style is understood as a contextual variable that moderates the relationship between parenting practices and the child’s developmental outcome. In contrast, parenting practices are conceptualized in their model as having a direct effect on developmental outcome.

As illustrated by Darling and Steinberg's Integrative Model (see Figure 1), parenting goals and values influence both parenting style and parenting practices; parenting practices have a direct effect on outcome, whereas parenting style influences child outcome mainly through its moderating influence on the relationship between parenting practices and developmental outcomes, and through its influence on the child's openness to parental socialization (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Darling and Steinberg's Contextual Model widens the lens through which we understand parenting and its effects on developmental outcome. By separating and distinguishing parenting style from parenting practices, this model allows for deeper insight into the relationship between socialization and child outcome. Moreover, by introducing style as a context, Darling and Steinberg (1993) raise the possibility that the effectiveness of a specific parenting style in the socialization of the child may depend on the goals and values toward which parents socialize their children and the practices they use to achieve these goals.

Sheinberg's Contribution to Parenting Beliefs

The work of Sheinberg (2004) furthers our understanding of the complex interplay between parenting goals, beliefs, styles, and practices by explicating and expanding upon parenting values, and especially beliefs, that underlie styles and practices. Sheinberg's research was based on the assumption that members of a particular cultural group utilize child-rearing methods that stem from a common underlying belief structure regarding the nature of the child, growth, and development (LeVine, 1988). In her pioneering research geared at the understanding of cultural value and belief systems embedded in ethnic minority families, Sheinberg attempted to study and compare

parenting beliefs and practices among a sample of Latino and African American mothers (Sheinberg, 2004).

For this purpose, Sheinberg (2004) developed the Parenting Beliefs of African-American and Latino Families Scale (P-BALFS). This was based on a qualitative study in which Sheinberg interviewed a group of Latino immigrant mothers in order to understand the characteristics these mothers wanted to instill in their children, the reasons why they valued these characteristics, and the actions they took to foster them. Sheinberg used this scale to assess parenting beliefs, which she conceptualized as “guides to actions that are constructed through interacting with children under particular sociocultural contexts that influence the creation and maintenance of specific parenting beliefs and practices” (Sheinberg, 2004, p. 12).

Data analysis revealed the presence of three distinct parenting beliefs dimensions: 1) adult-centered, 2) child-centered, and 3) cultural-transformation beliefs (this category only applied to the immigrant Latino mothers) Items of P-BALFS are summarized in Table 1. Child-centered beliefs were those that tended to be associated with a non-directive style of parenting. From this perspective, children were viewed as free to act and think as they liked, and as autonomous and capable to make family and personal decisions which parents should respect. Moreover, this framework suggested equitable parent-child relationships and was associated with practices geared towards less involvement in the child’s life (e.g. spending less time with their children and spending less time supervising their child’s homework), and less sense of family cohesion. According to Sheinberg (2004), this dimension of beliefs resembled Baumrind’s

permissive parenting, characterized by parents' low demandingness and low responsiveness.

The adult-centered dimensions of beliefs were those typically associated with an authoritarian style of parenting. Parents who scored high in this dimension viewed the family as a hierarchical system in which a child should respect and obey adults, and where children are expected to continue with the cultural traditions valued by the parents (Sheinberg, 2004). From an adult-centered stance, parental authority and ensuring respect from children were perceived as core attributes of good parenting. Parents were thought of as being responsible for teaching and modeling proper behavior to their children. Parents who subscribed to these beliefs had a tendency to envision parents as those responsible for making family decisions and for providing a strong foundation to ensure that their children would not give in to bad influences. Although Latino and African American adult-centered parenting beliefs resemble Baumrind's authoritarian parenting style, these kinds of beliefs were associated with positive family functioning, including parental responsiveness and involvement in the child's life. As Darling and Steinberg (1993) hinted in the implications of their *Contextual or Integrated model*, Sheinberg's work shows that an authoritarian style may be associated with positive outcome in children for ethnically diverse families. This finding contradicts the classical belief that it is the authoritative style that most strongly predicts positive outcome.

Parenting Values: An Expanded Model of Parenting

Description and Presentation of an Expanded model

There has been a progression in the way parenting has been understood in past decades, moving from focusing on parenting styles (Baumrind), to conceptualizing

parenting style as a context and differentiating it from parenting practices (e.g., Darling & Steinberg). Sheinberg (2004) took another novel step focusing on parenting beliefs of an understudied population. Relating beliefs to practices within the context of ethnically diverse families was a major advance in the current understanding of parenting. However, these models fail to draw clear distinctions between values, goals, and beliefs, which have been often addressed as interchangeable concepts in the literature (e.g., Gonzalez-Ramos, Zayas & Cohen, 1998; Harwood et. al., 2002; Tudge, Hogan, Snezhkova, Kulakova & Etz, 2000). A model that expands on that of Darling and Steinberg is needed to better articulate these constructs and the role they may play in parenting and child development.

The three models of parenting described previously lay the groundwork for the Expanded model introduced below. Baumrind (1968) was the first to bridge the emotional and behavioral processes that underlie parenting in her novel conceptualization of parenting style, which was anchored in an emphasis on parent's belief systems (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). However, in her theoretical model, Baumrind integrated specific beliefs in the overall understanding of each one of the three particular parenting styles (e.g. authoritativeness). Thus, she did not emphasize a clear definition and differentiation between beliefs and other components of parenting style, such as values, or goals. Darling and Steinberg's (1993) attempt to conceptualize the two attributes influenced by goals and values (parenting style and parenting practices) did not clearly differentiate the concepts of goals and values. According to their *integrative model*, the goals and values parents have in socializing their children seem to be the primary motor of the parent's socialization of the child. However, this model does not clarify the

distinction between values and goals, and once again, refers to these concepts almost interchangeably. On the other hand, Sheinberg's (2004) work focuses on parenting beliefs. Despite the fact that she describes those values present in Latino families, and refers to *cultural values* as the framework from which her study develops, Sheinberg's interest lies in measuring and understanding parenting beliefs. Therefore, her work does not offer an integral conceptualization of beliefs as differentiated from parenting values.

The Unique Features of Values. Gaining insight into parenting values is crucial for an integral understanding of parenting and its effect on outcome in children. The study of values has a long history in sociology and anthropology. The cross-cultural study of both societal and individual values, however, has been a more recent domain of interest for psychology. Values appear in definitions of culture, and often appear in field-based descriptions of particular societies (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 2002). The term "value" has been described as a conception held by an individual, or collectively by members of a group, of that which is desirable, and which influences the selection of both means and ends of action from among available alternatives (Berry, et. al., 2002).

Beliefs, on the other hand, are understood as a "conviction of the truth of some statement or the reality of some being or phenomenon especially when based on examination of evidence" (*Merriam-Webster's OnLine Dictionary*). Considerable diversity can be found in constructs used to identify parenting beliefs or parents' thoughts about their children. These range from *thoughts*, *theories*, and *ideas*, to *perceptions* or *goals* (Sigel, McGillicuddy-DeLisi, Goodnow, 1992). For the purpose of this paper, parenting beliefs will be understood as mental representations or knowledge parents have

about the socialization of their children, which, similarly to values, are anchored in a cultural context (Sigel & Kim, 1996).

When compared to beliefs, values have unique characteristics. They stand at the core of what mobilizes us as individuals. They are deeply rooted and therefore are thought to be more difficult to modify than beliefs. As Berry et. al. (2002) described, values “appear to be relatively stable features of individuals and societies, and hence correspond in this regard to personality traits and cultural characteristics” (p. 59). Values represent in its purest form the cultural context in which the individual is embedded and are easily transmitted from generation to generation at times without a conscious awareness on the part of the individual. The study of parenting values is relatively recent, becoming an important focus of research only in the past few decades. As Gonzalez-Ramos, Zayas and Cohen (1998) pointed out in their pioneer study of childrearing values among Puerto-Rican families, in order to better understand parenting, it is imperative that we recognize the unique values that are considered important for the socialization of children by different ethnic and cultural groups.

For this purpose, it is essential that we acknowledge the differentiation between parenting values, beliefs and goals. Furthermore, to understand the process through which parenting style influences child development, one should not only disentangle the three aspects of parenting mentioned by Darling and Steinberg (1993) (goals and values, parenting style and parenting practices), but also differentiate between values, beliefs, and goals, and acknowledge the cultural context in which these are embedded.

I therefore propose to expand Darling and Steinberg’s Contextual model in order to elaborate on the influence of parenting values and beliefs on the rest of the already

well-described dimensions of parenting. For the purpose of this model, parenting values will be defined as principles or qualities intrinsically valuable or desirable by parents, which are determined by a particular sociocultural context that influences the creation and maintenance of specific parenting beliefs and practices. In this expanded model of parenting (see Figure 2), both parenting values and beliefs influence parents' goals of socialization. Therefore, and differently from Darling & Steinberg's integrative model, the present model differentiates goals from values. Goals are understood as the end toward which parenting effort is directed; they imply a concrete intention for an action, which values do not.

Values also influence parenting beliefs (Arrow A); a parenting belief will always have at its core a parenting value. Parenting values and beliefs will be determined by the cultural context in which parenting takes place. Therefore, in the present model, these two attributes are embedded in a larger dimension of culture. This is to emphasize that parenting values and beliefs can only be studied through the lens of the family's cultural context.

In the present Expanded Model of Parenting, both values and beliefs directly influence parental goals (Arrow B). At the same time, following Darling and Steinberg's (1993) model, parental goals for socialization influence both parenting style (Arrow 1) and parenting practices (Arrow 2). From this point onwards the model incorporates Darling and Steinberg's (1993) illustration of their Contextual model (see Figure 2).

Parent-Centered vs. Child-Centered Values

Research on parenting values has focused only on what has been addressed in the literature as *childrearing values*. These have been described as characteristics that parents

feel are important to instill in their children (Gonzalez-Ramos, et. al., 1998), which I will term *child-centered values*. To examine *parent-centered values* would add a new dimension to the conceptualization of parenting. This expands the model even further by differentiating two categories of child rearing values--parent-centered and child-centered values (see Figure 3).

Parent-centered values are parental qualities valued by parents. In other words, these are attributes a parent considers important to have in order to be a “good parent.” Parent-centered values involve qualities valued by parents because they are thought to be conducive to positive parenting of their children. In contrast to child-centered values, parent-centered values revolve exclusively around the parent, even though they also have a direct influence on the socialization process of the child. For example, a parent might value *being an authority figure* as a crucial parent-centered value, and *respect* as a fundamental child-centered value. In other words, a parent might value *being an authority figure* as a parental quality, and may desire to instill in his/her child the quality of *being respectful*.

Following the *Expanded Model* of parenting, the belief that draws from these values could be that *as a parent you need to show that you are the authority to gain respect* (an example of an adult-centered belief described by Sheinberg, 2004). This parent may have an authoritarian style of parenting conducive to parenting practices such as spanking the child when the child does not obey an adult, or sending the child to the room when the parent socializes with other adults. This example illustrates the influence parent-centered values may have on parenting style, and most particularly on parenting practices. As Darling and Steinberg (1993) suggested, understanding the values parents

hold might shed light on the parenting style and practice they consequently adopt. I will go a step further and suggest that distinguishing between two types of values (parent-centered and child-centered) is critical to understand the effects of values on the parenting style and practices adopted by a parent.

The Importance of Distinguishing Values, Beliefs, and Practices

Identifying values that underlie child-rearing beliefs, styles, and practices is critical for a number of reasons. First, this may allow for a better theoretical understanding of how parents choose parenting practices. This understanding in turn may provide insight into the process by which parents change their parenting practices, which could have clinical implications for parenting programs. It may also provide a structure for understanding challenges that may arise when parents interact with others who may have different parenting values, such as co-parents, grandparents, and people from different cultural backgrounds. Second, although childrearing values are thought to influence childrearing beliefs which in turn affect parenting practices, there may be a mismatch between values, beliefs, and practices; separating these three constructs will allow us to examine this mismatch and its ramifications. For example, a parent might have the parent-centered value of being strict, the child-centered value of raising a well-behaved child, and the child-rearing belief that being strict is important for raising a well-behaved child. However a parent might be permissive in practice for a variety of other reasons such as outside stressors. The impact of this permissiveness on the child may be very different if the parent values strictness than if the parent values permissiveness.

Disconnects between values and beliefs are probably less common but are likely to occur in a parent whose parenting is undergoing a change. For example, a parent who

has the parent-centered value of being a disciplinarian and the child centered-value of respect may believe that spanking will teach respect. Through the process of interacting with others (e.g., a spouse, friend, therapist, pediatrician) this belief may change ("e.g., spanking will cause my child to be more aggressive"), without the underlying parent-centered value changing. Understanding what happens when these disconnects occur may be important for understanding the parenting process. Finally, separating values, beliefs, and practices may allow for a better understanding of cultural differences in parenting. For example, two cultures may both value parents being disciplinarians and children being respectful, but one culture may believe that spanking will teach respect and the other culture may believe that it will not teach respect. This increased understanding of cultural differences in parenting may have important implications for clinical interventions with ethnically diverse population. Given that most parent education programs are based on Anglo-American values and therefore have attempted to educate parents following this premise, it is not surprising that parenting interventions with minority families have been shown to have mixed results (Smith, Perou & Lesene, 2002).

As Forehand and Kotchick (1996) suggested in their article on cultural diversity and parenting training, there is a need to understand parenting values and beliefs among ethnic minority groups in order to avoid a possible European-American bias in the standards set for parenting behaviors and optimal child adjustment. The study of parent-centered values may contribute to the development of culturally sensitive interventions that are both more engaging for ethnically diverse families and more likely to have long-lasting effects. More specifically, understanding the way parents envision themselves, and therefore, the parents' qualities they value as crucial (parent-centered values), may

allow for improved interventions that are increasingly consistent with parents' conceptualization of being parents and raising their children.

Parenting and Culture: What we know about Latinos

Latino Families Demographics

Latinos (a term widely used to refer to people who are originally from Mexico, Central or South America, and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean) are one of the fastest growing minority groups within the United States (Census Bureau, 2002). Despite their increasing numbers, Latinos remain in an economically and politically disadvantaged position. When compared to Anglo-Americans and to other minority groups, they have lower education achievements and professional backgrounds, higher school dropout rate, and underutilization of health services (Garcia-Coll, & Pachter, 2002; Harwood et al., 2002; Layendecker & Lamb, 1999).

The use of "Latinos" as an ethnicity can create a false impression of internal homogeneity. Far from this assumption, Latinos are a very heterogeneous group that includes people from diverse countries of origin, socioeconomic status, level of education, level of acculturation, and historical and personal reasons for being in the United States (Harwood et al., 2002). Unfortunately, the majority of the research literature has focused on low-socioeconomic status (SES) Latino groups, which makes it hard to disentangle ethnicity from SES and generally confounds both variables (Garcia-Coll, 1990).

In the U.S., some 20 countries of origin are represented by the word *Latino*, the largest percentage being from Mexican descent (66.1%), followed by Puerto Rican (9%) and Cuban 4%, (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002). Despite this heterogeneity, Latino families

do share some important traits deeply rooted in a common history of colonization. They are united by the Spanish language, share a predominant Roman Catholic religion, the majority of Latinos have immigrated to the United States in the last two generations, and most relevant, they share common cultural values that shape their parenting beliefs, styles and practices (Leyendecker & Lamb, 1999).

As opposed to the culture in the United States, which is often described as “individualistic,” evidence has supported the tendency for Latino families to adhere to childrearing values and beliefs comprised of a more “sociocentric” spectrum. A “sociocentric” or “interdependent” perspective emphasizes a view of oneself in relation to other human beings (Leyendecker et. al., 1999). It implies perceiving oneself imbedded in a social relationship, and therefore recognizing that one’s behavior is to some extent determined by thoughts, feelings, and actions of others in the relationship (Harwood et. al, 2002). Adherence to sociocentric values may influence parents’ socialization goals and parenting practices. In the case of Latinos, parents’ conceptions of what is required for their children to become socially competent and successful may be steeped in an emphasis on the extended family. This not only fosters multiple significant relationships, but also implies a supportive network of adult members that will share parenting tasks in the socialization of the child (Leyendecker et. al., 1999).

Values among Latino Families

Familismo and *respeto* emerge as two dimensions common to Latino parents regarding childrearing values and beliefs (Harwood et. al., 2002). The notion of *familismo* has been depicted as a consistent theme in numerous studies. It primarily alludes to a sense of being deeply rooted in a family to which one is oriented and

obligated, a focus on the extended family, and feelings of loyalty, solidarity and closeness among its members (Harwood et. al., 2002; Leyendecker et. al., 1999; Zayas, Canino, & Suárez, 2001). *Respeto*, also referred to as “Proper Demeanor,” implies a certain level of courtesy and decorum (i.e., concern that a child be respectful and obedient) required in specific situations that involve other people of particular age and social status (Gonzalez-Ramos, Zayas and Cohen, 1998; Harwood et. al., 2002). Zayas, Canino, & Suárez, (2001), who studied parenting in mainland Puerto Rican families, referred to Proper Demeanor as the mothers’ preference that their children be *obediente* (obedient), *tranquilo* (calm), *amable* (polite, gentle, kind), and *educado* (well-raised).

Literature on child-rearing values among Latinos has emphasized values such as parental control, importance of child’s affection towards other members of the family, proximity seeking, deference to parental authority, obedience, family loyalty and personal honor (Zayas et. al., 2001). Gonzalez-Ramos, Zayas and Cohen (1998) studied the child-rearing values (what I have called *child-centered* values), of a group of 80 low-income mainland Puerto Rican mothers. These researchers found that Puerto Rican mothers ranked the values of honesty, respectfulness, and responsibility most highly in raising their preschool children, and loyalty to the family, affectionateness, and sharing with others as next in priority. The two values typically associated with Anglo culture, assertiveness and creativity, were ranked as the least important. Less acculturated mothers gave more importance to humility and respectfulness in contrast to the more acculturated mothers who tended to rank independence and creativity higher.

Latinos, Immigration, and Parent-Centered Values

An important experience that impacts Latinos who live in the United States is that of immigration. Most Latinos living in the United States are immigrants or children of immigrants (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Latinos may have remarkably different experiences in the immigration and acculturation process once in the new country. For some the process may be a positive experience, while for others it may have a detrimental effect on their overall physical and mental health (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). One challenge that immigrant families may face is living in a culture which may have child-rearing values that are different from their own. Latino parents who immigrate to the United States bring with them a set of child-rearing values. Many times these values may differ from those of the dominant culture, triggering a discrepancy in the parenting value system. Some parents may adapt to those values that prevail in the dominant culture, and for others this discrepancy may result in a clash that is difficult to resolve. There is some evidence that when Latino parents immigrate to the United States, their parenting styles and cognitions may shift (Bornstein & Cote, 2004; Varela et. al., 2004). However, more research is needed in this area.

The migration experience may also have an intergenerational effect, increasing the stress among the different generations within Latino families. While caretakers may continue to choose parenting strategies congruent with parenting in their country of origin, their children may be exposed to norms and expectations that are different from their home country, and that may trigger emancipation towards their parents, increasing the stress in the family (Chapman & Perreira, 2005). As Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001) pointed out in their review of the effects of immigration, although many

immigrant parents come to the U.S. hoping to provide a better future for their children, the very process of immigration tends to undermine family cohesion and parental authority. Thus, an important component of *differential acculturation*, or the difference in the acculturation process between parents and their children (Matsuoka, 1990), may involve differential parent-centered parenting values between parents and their children.

The Present Study

Latino immigrant mothers living in the US provide an important context for beginning to examine parent-centered values. Immigrants are likely to still hold values that are similar to those common in their countries of origin, allowing one to identify which parental qualities tend to be most valued in different Latino cultures. Furthermore, studying recent immigrants allows for the opportunity to examine the potential clash between immigrants' parent-centered values and their perceptions of parenting values among the dominant culture. No studies have examined parent-centered childrearing values and only a few studies have examined child-centered childrearing values (e.g., Gonzales-Ramos, Zayas, & Cohen, 1998; Tamis-LeMonda, Shuyuan, Koutsouvanou, & Albright, 2002). Given the diversity among Latino immigrants, the present study examined how parenting values varied according to the country of origin, SES, and number of years living in the United States. This study also compared these mothers' parenting values with the way in which they perceived American mothers' parenting values. Note that the present study compared Latino's parenting values to their perceptions of values from the dominant culture rather than to actual parenting values of parents from the dominant culture. While the latter is an interesting and important question, it was beyond the scope of this study. This study focused on immigrants'

perceptions of dominant culture values because the discrepancy between perceived values is likely more important for Latino parents than the discrepancy between actual values.

For the purpose of the present study, the Parent-Centered Values Questionnaire (*PCVQ*) was developed. Parents participating in another research project were interviewed regarding the parenting qualities they value. Interviews conducted with Puerto Rican, European-American, and African American parents were reviewed and commonly mentioned values were identified. Items were also selected to span a wide range of parenting qualities that have emerged from the literature on parenting. The values collected from these sources included relational qualities (to be understanding, have trust in your children, have patience, be affectionate and be loving); self-actualization qualities, which include two categories: role modeling (be an example for the children, be honest, be mature/responsible, have dignity), and those which are likely to promote a stimulating environment (be creative, have economical resources, have a sense of humor); discipline-related qualities ranging from those emphasizing high parental control (be strict, be an authority, be a disciplinarian), firm control (be consistent, set limits), and low control (be flexible, give freedom to the children); and two other values that do not fall in any of the previous categories (being religious/ spiritual, and being loyal to the family). The present study examined these values among Latino immigrant mothers.

Specifically, the following questions were addressed:

- 1) What are the parent-centered values that Latino mothers value most? Because Latino families are thought to often adhere to sociocentric values, and place a high emphasis on the notion of *familismo* or closeness among family members, it was

hypothesized that Latino mothers would tend to endorse parent-centered values that are relational. For example, values such as *being affectionate, loving, and trusting your children* were hypothesized to be highly valued by most Latino mothers. This is also consistent with Gonzalez-Ramos, Zayas and Cohen (1998)'s findings revealing that Latino mothers consistently endorse child-centered values such as *affectionate*, and *sharing with others*. Also, consistent with the literature emphasizing the importance of parental authority for Latino parents and the importance of raising their children to be obedient and well behaved, it was hypothesized that Latino mothers would highly value parent-centered values that emphasize higher parental control. Values such as *being an authority figure, being strict or setting limits*, were predicted to be highly endorsed by Latino mothers. Finally, self-actualization parental qualities (personal qualities that may be important to be a good parent) that are consistent with *familismo* and *respeto* (e.g., being an example for the child, having dignity) were thought to be more highly valued than qualities consistent with individualism.

2) How do these values differ from those values that Latino mothers believe to be most important for mothers of the dominant culture? Despite empirical evidence revealing that the immigration process may impact parenting cognitions and practices (e.g., Bornstein and Cote, 2004), there are no studies that have focused on parenting values of immigrant Latino mothers and the way these mothers perceive parenting in the dominant culture. Given theory and research suggesting that the European American culture tends to be more individualistic, it was hypothesized that Latino mothers would tend to perceive mothers of the dominant culture as valuing relational qualities (e.g. *being affectionate*) and high parental control less, and low parental control (e.g. *giving freedom*

to the child) and self-actualizing qualities that involve promoting a stimulating environment more (e.g., *being creative, having economical resources, and having a sense of humor*), than they themselves value those qualities.

3) How do parenting values vary across country of origin, SES, and number of years living in the US? Because Latino immigrants represent a diverse group, individual variability in parenting values was also examined. It was hypothesized that Latino mothers who have lived in the US for a longer period of time and who are of higher SES would tend to have values that are more similar to those of the dominant culture, including low parental control and self-actualizing qualities that involve promoting a stimulating environment. Although values are likely to vary across country of origin, specific hypotheses were not presented given the lack of theory and research to guide predictions.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 98 mothers of children between the ages of 1 and 12 years old from the Boston and Washington DC area. All participants were Latino immigrants who spoke Spanish as their primary language and who were not born in the U.S., therefore ensuring that these mothers had a strong identification with their country of origin, and had not acculturated to the point of losing their native language. Also, all participants had immigrated to the United States at least one year ago, and had been living in the United States for an average of 10.88 years. This ensured that parents had a chance to develop a perception of the dominant culture. This study also included mothers who met the above criteria even if they planned to return to their home countries at some point in the future. Participants were also recruited from a wide variety of countries of origins including Uruguay (n = 2), Chile (n = 27), Argentina (n = 2), Venezuela (n = 2), Colombia (n = 15), Ecuador (n = 2), Peru (n = 5), Honduras (n = 1), Salvador (n = 9), Guatemala (n = 5), Mexico (n = 27), Dominican Republic (n = 8), Puerto Rico (n = 7), and Cuba (n = 1). Mothers participating in the study had a range of levels of education, including 8 years of education (n = 4), between 9 and 12 years (n = 30), between 13 and 16 years (n = 26), and more than 16 years (n = 36). See Table 2 for a detailed description of mothers' country of origin and SES. The sample included both participants who were single mothers (n = 13) as well as mothers who were married or lived with a partner (n = 79). The average age of mothers participating in the study was 35.7 years old, and the average age of their oldest child was 7.46 years old.

Procedure

The investigator was well connected in the Latino immigrant community in the Boston metropolitan area and DC area and used a number of recruitment strategies. 65 participants were recruited in the Boston area while the rest of the participants (33) were from the DC area. Participants in Boston were recruited first, through a local community organization that serves the Latino population. Second, participants also recommended other people by word of mouth, and third, through acquaintances of the investigator. In the DC area the principal investigator used similar strategies and recruited many mothers from a local Pre-school that serves Latino families from a range of SES and countries of origin. Other mothers were suggested by those participants linked to this organization, whom the investigator contacted directly. The packets took approximately 30 minutes to complete and contained 2 consent forms (one for the participant to keep), a demographic form, and a questionnaire about parenting values (see Appendix). Participants entered in a lottery to win \$200.

Measures

Demographics information. Participants provided information about their race/ethnicity; country of origin; years living in the United States; reason for immigrating to the U.S.; language spoken at home; number of children and their ages; and education.

Parent-Centered Values Questionnaire (PCVQ). The Parent-Centered Values Questionnaire (PCVQ), a measure of parents' parent-centered child rearing values was developed by the primary investigator (see Appendix). It was modeled after the one used by Gonzales-Ramos, Zayas and Cohen (1998) to assess child-centered values. First, an open-ended probe asked mothers to list the values they thought were most important for a

mother to have in order to raise their children, and to list those maternal values that they thought American mothers living in the U.S. considered important in order to be a good mother and properly raise their children. Second, the PCVQ presented mothers with a list of 21 parent-centered-values. Mothers were asked to complete a 5-point Likert Scale for each of these values, and then asked to circle the 5 values from this list that they considered most important in order to be a good mother. Mothers were then asked to repeat the same process, this time reporting how they thought that mothers in the dominant culture valued each quality.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Means and standard deviations for each item of the Parent-Centered Values Questionnaire (PCVQ) are presented in Table 3. Given that the average ratings for almost all values (with the exception of *having economic resources*) tended to be higher for their own values when compared to Latino mothers' ratings of these same values for the dominant culture, scores for each item were also adjusted separately for each participant, subtracting each individual's mean score for all 21 values from each item rating. Thus, raw scores represent mothers' absolute ratings, and adjusted scores represent the relative importance that mothers gave each item. The three parent-centered values most highly valued by Latino mothers were *be loving*, *have patience*, and *be honest*. The two least valued qualities were *have economic resources* and *be religious/spiritual*. As for Latino mothers' perception of the parent-centered values in the dominant culture (for American mothers), the quality perceived as most highly valued by mothers from the dominant culture was to *have economic resources*, followed by *give freedom to the children* and *be understanding*. Table 3 also presents t-tests comparing the mean ratings for Latino mothers' own values to Latino mothers' mean ratings of the qualities they believed to be valued in the dominant culture (dominant values). There were significant differences for 19 of the 21 values (all p 's < .001) when using the raw mean ratings, and for 15 of the 21 values when using the adjusted mean ratings (all p 's < .01).

Data Reduction

For data reduction purposes, intercorrelations were examined among participants' ratings of their own parent-centered values as well as among their ratings of American mothers' parent-centered values. Since the sample size was not sufficient for conducting a factor analysis, groups of items that were thought to tap similar constructs were identified a priori and intercorrelations were examined for each of these groups/dimensions. The first dimension, *Relational Qualities* included *be understanding, have trust in your children, be loving, have patience, and be affectionate*. These items were significantly correlated, ranging from $r = .28$ to $r = .37$, all p 's $< .001$, and were therefore averaged. The second dimension, *Self-Actualization Qualities: Role Modeling*, included *be an example for the children, be mature/responsible, have dignity, and be honest*. These items were all positively correlated ranging from $r = .33$ to $r = .57$, all p 's $< .001$, and were therefore also combined. The third dimension, *Self-Actualization Qualities: Promoting a Stimulating Environment*, included *be creative, have economic resources, and have a sense of humor*. Being creative was significantly correlated with having a sense of humor ($r = .37, p < .001$); however, having economic resources was not significantly correlated with the other two values in this dimension ($r = .11$ with *be creative* and $r = .12$ with *having a sense of humor*, both p 's $> .50$). Therefore, being creative and having a sense of humor were averaged together, but having economic resources was kept separate. The fourth dimension, *High Parental Control Qualities*, included *be strict, be an authority figure, and be a disciplinarian*. These three items were positively correlated, ranging from $r = .34$ to $r = .45$, all p 's $< .001$, and were therefore combined. The fifth dimension, *Firm Control Qualities*, included *be consistent and place*

limits, which were positively correlated ($r = .34, p < .001$), and therefore combined. The sixth dimension, *Low Control Qualities*, included *give freedom to the children* and *be flexible*; these were significantly correlated ($r = .37, p < .001$), and therefore averaged. Two other qualities were kept as separate items and were not grouped in any cluster: *be religious/spiritual* and *be loyal to the family*. In order to reduce Type 1 error, an alpha of .01 was used.

Research Question 1: What Are the Parent-Centered Values that Latino Mothers Value Most?

It was predicted that Latino mothers would highly value Relational, Role Modeling, High Parental Control Qualities, Religiousness or Spirituality, and Loyalty to the Family, and would value least Self-Actualization qualities, Economic Resources, and Low Parental Control. The five dimensions thought to be valued most by Latino mothers were compared to the three dimensions thought to be valued least, using paired sample t-tests¹ (see Table 4 for means and standard deviations). Differences between each highly valued dimension and each devalued dimension were significant (all p 's $< .001$) for 11 of the 15 pairs. There were no significant differences between High Parental Control scores and Stimulating Environment ratings, $t(94) = .41, p = .68$, and between High Parental Control scores and Low Parental Control ratings, $t(94) = 2.37, p = .02$. Also, there were no significant differences between mothers' ratings of Religiousness/Spirituality and both Economic Resources, $t(94) = -1.57; p = .12$, and Low Parental Control Dimensions, $t(95) = 1.52, p = .13$.

Thus, as predicted, and consistent with values such as *familismo* and *respeto*, Relational Qualities, Role Modeling values, and Family Loyalty were highly valued,

¹Raw scores and standardized scores provide identical results.

whereas qualities that promote a Stimulating Environment (more consistent with individualism), qualities associated with Low Parental Control, and having Economic Resources were rated relatively low. Interestingly, and contrary to expectation, Latino mothers valued qualities associated with Firm Control significantly more than qualities associated with High Parental Control, $t(94) = -9.18, p < .001$. Also contrary to prediction, mothers placed less value on Religiousness/Spirituality.

Research Question 2: How Do These Values Differ from Those Values that Latino Mothers Believe to be Most Important for Mothers of the Dominant Culture?

Paired samples t-tests were conducted comparing Latino mothers' own values to their ratings of values in the dominant culture for each of the nine dimensions (see Table 4). Based on raw scores, differences between own and dominant values were significant for all dimensions, while differences were found for seven of the nine dimensions using adjusted values. Contrary to our hypothesis, Latino mothers' relative ratings of their own values were not significantly higher than their ratings of the dominant values for High Parental Control qualities and Religiousness/Spirituality. Consistent with prediction, Relational qualities, Role Modeling, Firm Control, and Loyalty to the Family were perceived to be significantly more important for themselves than for American mothers. Also consistent with prediction, the three dimensions believed by participants to be valued significantly more by mothers of the dominant culture than for Latino mothers were Economic Resources, Low Parental Control, and Promoting a Stimulating Environment (see adjusted values in Table 4).

Research Question 3: How do Parenting Values Vary across Country of Origin, Level of Education, Number of Years Living in the US and Contact with American Mothers?

As expected, mothers in this study came from a variety of different Latin countries. These countries of origin were clustered into four different geographical zones. Countries were clustered based on both, geographical proximity as well as on cultural similarities. These were as follows. Zone 1: South America I includes Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay ($n = 31$); Zone 2: South America II, includes Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Peru ($n = 25$); Zone 3: Central America includes Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, and Mexico ($n = 24$); and Zone 4: Caribbean Islands includes Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, and Cuba ($n = 17$). While there remain important differences between countries within each zone, such clustering provides a first step in examining differences across country of origin.

A series of ANOVAS were conducted with Country of Origin as the between subjects factor and the nine Latin values as the dependent variable (results are presented in Table 5). Only two of the nine dimensions showed significant main effects of Country of Origin: Economic Resources, $F(3, 83) = 7.12$; and Religiousness/ Spirituality, $F(3, 83) = 6.27$, both p 's $< .001$. Mothers from all zones tended to rate both Economic Resources and Religiousness/Spirituality relatively low. However, Tukey HSDs indicated that mothers from the Caribbean Islands valued having Economic Resources significantly more than did mothers from both South America I & II, while mothers from South America I valued Religiousness/Spirituality significantly less than mothers from Central America and Caribbean Islands (see Table 5). A mixed-design ANOVA (Country of Origin x Own-Dominant Values), was conducted to examine whether differences between ratings of "own" and "dominant" values vary across country of origin. The only significant interaction was for Economic Resources, $F(3, 86) = 9.22$, $p < .001$. As shown

in Figure 4, mothers from all four zones rated Economic resources as significantly less important for themselves than for the dominant culture, however, this difference in perception was most pronounced for mothers from South America I and least pronounced for mothers from Caribbean Islands.

It should be noted that a univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed significant differences in participants' level of education across the four zones, $F(3,92) = 7.2, p < .001$; Central American mothers' level of education ($M = 12.42, SD = 3.74$) was lower than for mothers from South America I & II ($M = 16.42, SD = 2.68$; and $M = 14.84, SD = 3.73$; both p 's $< .05$). Given that country of origin may be highly confounded with level of education, it is difficult to tease apart the moderating effect of these two variables. It may well be that it is the level of education, and perhaps not the country of origin that accounts for differences in mothers' perception of the value of economic resources. Unfortunately, an examination of the distributions suggested that country of origin and level of education were too highly confounded to statistically tease them apart.

In order to examine whether differences between *own* and *dominant* values vary as a function of SES, mothers were classified as high (13 years or greater) or low (12 years or less) education. A mixed designs ANOVA (Education X Own vs. Dominant) yielded two interactions approaching significance (p 's $< .05$): Economic Resources, $F(1, 87) = 4.04$, and Firm Control, $F(1, 88) = 4.41$. Even though both group of participants perceived economic resources as less important for Latino than for American mothers (both p 's $< .001$), this difference was more pronounced for highly educated mothers. Also, highly educated mothers valued Firm Control more for own than for dominant values when compared to low educated participants.

There were no significant correlations between years living in the U.S. and any of the values, however, the correlation between years living in the U.S. and the value of Economic Resources approached significance, for “own” values, $r = .21, p < .05$. In other words, mothers who had been living longer in the US valued Economic Resources more than did mothers who had been in the US for less time.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The present study examined parent-centered values endorsed by Latino mothers living in the U.S., as well as their perception of parenting values among the dominant U.S. culture. It also explored how these parenting values varied according to the country of origin, SES, and number of years living in the U.S. Of particular interest was how the parent-centered values endorsed by Latino mothers compared to the perception of parenting values of mothers in the dominant culture.

Parenting Values among Latino Mothers

Findings indicated that Relational qualities, Role Modeling values, Firm Parental Control and Family Loyalty were the dimensions of values most highly endorsed by Latino mothers. These results were consistent with the way in which Latino families have been typically described in the literature, in which there is a cultural focus on the extended family and interpersonal responsiveness and a personal identity generated by belonging to a family group (see Forehand & Kotchick, 1996). Even though this is a cultural trait of Latin American families, it is noteworthy that these family values, as shown in the present findings, continue to prevail in *immigrant* Latino families who have immigrated from their home countries to the U.S.. Relational qualities and Family Loyalty are consistent with the notion of *familismo* (which emphasizes the affection and loyalty towards other family members), while Role Modeling values could be understood within the realm of *respeto* or *proper demeanor* (which emphasize obedience, kindness and respect towards others; Harwood, et. al., 2002; Zayas, et. al., 2001; Gonzalez-Ramos, et. al., 1998). Results of this study were also concordant with Gonzalez-Ramos, and

colleagues (1998) who found that honesty, respectfulness, loyalty to the family, and being affectionate were some of the child-centered values most highly ranked by a group of Puerto Rican mothers.

Interestingly, and contrary to expectation, High Parental Control was rated relatively low in importance by Latino mothers in this study, while Firm Control was highly valued. The fact that Latino mothers highly endorsed being consistent and setting limits as well as being affectionate, could be understood in terms of Baumrind's definition of an *authoritative style*. Latino parents have often been described in the literature as emphasizing values such as parental control, parental authority, and obedience; and endorsing adult-centered beliefs consistent with an authoritarian style of parenting (e.g., Sheinberg, 2004; Zayas, Canino & Suarez, 2001). However, only a handful of empirical studies have truly examined parenting practices or beliefs among Latino mothers and they have yielded inconsistent results. Some studies have found Latino mothers to be authoritarian, and disciplinarian with their children; while others have noted Latino mothers using authoritative practices and being typically permissive toward their children, placing less emphasis on individual achievement or strict disciplinary standards (see Guilamo-Ramos, Dittus, Jaccard, Johansson, Bouris, & Acosta, 2007; Varela, Vernberg, Sanchez-Sosa, Riveros, Mitchell & Mashunkashey, 2004; Forehand and Kotchick, 1996). The present study supports the notion that Latino parenting values may be more consistent with authoritative rather than authoritarian parenting. These results are consistent with Guilamo-Ramos and colleagues' (2007) recent findings showing that Dominican and Puerto Rican mothers believe in the importance of parental firmness and parental control, while at the same time value close,

warm and supportive relationships with their children. Future research is needed to examine within group heterogeneity that may explain inconsistent results across previous studies.

The parent-centered values least endorsed by Latino mothers were associated with having Economic Resources and being Religious/ Spiritual. A strong motivation for immigrants from developing countries to the U.S. may be to improve their quality of life and increase their economic resources. Contrary to what might be expected, Latino mothers in this study appear to believe that the search for more material comfort is not a priority in being a good parent. The literature has not previously addressed the way in which economic resources could be understood and valued by Latino parents. Also contrary to expectation, mothers in the present study did not seem to consider being religious or spiritual as an important parent-centered value. Latino culture has commonly been characterized in the literature as sustaining a strong religious identity. A possible explanation for this inconsistency could be that Latino mothers do consider religiousness/spirituality as an important personal value, but do not perceive it as a necessary attribute to succeed in parenthood.

Latino Mother's Perception of Parenting Values among Mothers from the Dominant Culture

It is interesting to note that the average rating for most values (except for *have economic resources* and *give freedom to the children*) was higher for Latino mothers' own values than for the average rating of these same values in the dominant culture. These findings suggest that Latino mothers in this study tended to perceive the average American mother as valuing most parenting attributes as less important than they

themselves did. It is unclear whether this phenomenon is specific to Latino immigrants and their perceptions of the dominant U.S. culture. It may be that mothers generally value these parenting qualities more than they believe other mothers value these same traits. It is also unclear whether Latino mothers' perceptions of U.S. mothers' values are accurate. Further research should explore accuracy of immigrant mothers' perceptions of the dominant culture.

Results in the present study also indicated that Latino mothers perceived Relational qualities, Role Modeling, Firm Control, and Loyalty to the Family as much more highly valued by themselves than by mothers of the dominant culture, while on the other hand, Low Parental Control, Promoting a Stimulating Environment, and in particular, having Economic Resources were believed to be relatively more valued by mothers in the dominant culture. These findings are consistent with the view that Latino families' values adhere to a "sociocentric" or interdependent perspective, while the families in the U.S. have been more often described to adhere to a more "individualistic" stance (Leyendecker et. al., 1999; Harwood et. al., 2002). In this same line, Latino mothers emphasized values associated with family relations, while their perception of American mothers emphasized individual characteristics (such as being creative and having a sense of humor) rather than traits associated with a "relational" style of being parent.

There was a common perception among all Latino mothers of mothers in the dominant culture as valuing characteristics associated with Low Parental Control significantly more than they themselves did. In the present study Low parental control captured two values: giving freedom to the children and being flexible. This emphasis in

low parental control may resemble Baumrind's conceptualization of a "permissive style" of parenting. These values were presented in our study in terms of neutral parental attributes; it would be interesting for future studies to explore the value judgments of Latino mothers in regard to parental values in the dominant culture. These results may provide further insight into the existence of a dominant negative/positive cultural perception of the parental role in the dominant culture, and whether there is a negative connotation associated to their perception of American mothers' Low Parental Control value.

The discrepancy between the way in which Latino mothers perceive parent-centered values and the way they believe mothers in the dominant culture would endorse these same values may shape the experience of being an immigrant mother raising children in the U.S. It is important to underscore the fact that this effect depends primarily on the *perception* of Latino mothers rather than on the actual differences in parent-centered values between Latino mothers and mothers from the dominant culture. For example, Latino mothers may perceive American culture as being more materialistic and permissive than Latino culture and, as such, a threat to their own values as parents (for example, a threat to parent-centered values associated with parental control or family loyalty). This may foster a lack of integration on behalf of Latino mothers and their children into the dominant culture. It may also result in differential acculturation in which children's and parents' values may clash as part of an intergenerational conflict. In sum, it may be stressful for Latino mothers to be living in a society whose parenting values may be different from their own (or at least they perceive it that way), particularly given their

emphasis in a sociocentric society in which supporters from the community may be important in child rearing.

Parent-Centered Values across Country of Origin, Level of Education, Number of Years Living in the US

There were surprisingly few differences in values within this diverse sample of Latino mothers. Parent-centered values endorsed by Latino mothers in the study were very similar across countries of origins, and levels of education. This may speak to a more shared view of parenting values across Latin America as a culture, and to a common conceptualization of being a mother among Latino mothers. Nonetheless, there were some interesting within group differences.

Mothers from all countries of origin and levels of education considered that mothers from the dominant culture valued having economic resources significantly more than they themselves did. However, as it may be expected, this effect was strongest for highly educated mothers. In other words, highly educated mothers, who probably have a better socioeconomic situation, perceived *having economic resources* as less important in their list of values compared to less educated mothers. Also, the fact that mothers who had been living longer in the U.S. valued economic resources more than more recent immigrants suggests that acculturation may be associated with an increased endorsement of the parent-centered value of economic resources.

Another interesting result of the present study is that mothers from South America I considered religiousness/ spirituality to be significantly less important in being a good mother than did mothers from the other three geographical regions. These differences may be due to the fact that all three countries of South America I (Chile, Argentina and

Uruguay) experienced important inflows of immigrants from Europe in the early 1900's. This western influence may have impacted the prevalent culture with its life-style less centered on religion and a more liberal and open stance towards religious diversity. As a consequence, religion and spirituality may be less valued as a parenting trait.

Limitations and Future Directions

Findings in this study should be considered in the context of several potential limitations. For instance, generalizability of the results may be limited by the fact that Latino mothers participating in this study were selected from two geographical areas only: Boston and Washington, DC. Although all participants were immigrants, and therefore thought to have maintained their home values in regard to parenting, the fact that they chose to live in these cities, considered more culturally diverse and liberal than many other areas in the U.S., could imply a self-selecting bias. In a similar line, while we tried to examine diversity within group of each geographical region, this study may be limited by the fact that diverse participants coming from different countries of origin may have been grouped together as a single region for analysis purposes (for example, Central America grouping Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico and El Salvador). However, they may still have important individual differences to be considered. Another possible limitation of this study was that SES level was confounded with country of origin. Although an effort was made to gather a sample that included a diverse range of participants from different SES levels and countries of origin, Central American mothers were significantly less educated than mothers from South America. Future studies should explore the moderating effect of SES on parent-centered values separately from the moderating effect of country of origin.

Last, an important limitation of this study was that it did not address the real perceptions of parent-centered values from mothers in the dominant culture, but examined Latino mothers' *perception* of parenting values in the American culture. Future research should explore the way in which mothers from the dominant culture endorse the different parenting values and contrast them with Latino mothers' perception of parent-centered values in the dominant culture. Similarly, future research should examine how parent-centered values correspond to parenting beliefs and practices, something that the present study fails to capture.

Despite the limitations, the current study extends our understanding of parenting values in several different ways. First, this is the first study to examine parent-centered values. Our finding that the mothers in this study placed greater value on some parenting qualities than on others and that they perceived differences between their own values and the values of another culture support the notion that understanding individual differences in parenting values merits further study. While the present study did not examine the relation between parenting values and other important components in the Expanded Model of Parenting presented previously, our findings do point to the need for future studies to do just that. The present study also provides an example of how studying parenting values may provide insight into the role of culture in parenting. This is one of the few studies to examine parenting among Latinos, and one of very few to examine within group differences among a diverse group of Latinos, including a range of socioeconomic backgrounds. Third, the current study provides insight into the experience of immigrant parents, by examining Latino mothers' perceptions of parenting values in the dominant culture. More research is needed to understand the impact of these

perceived differences in parenting values. Finally, these results may inform parenting programs that include Latino immigrant parents, by providing insight into the parenting qualities they most value.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRES IN ENGLISH

- A.1 Participant Consent Form
- A.2 Demographic Information Form
- A.3 Parent-Centered Values Questionnaire

APPENDIX A.1: Participant Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Parenting Values among Latino Mothers

Principal Investigator: Candice Fischer M.S.

.....

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The percentage of Latino parents who immigrate to the United States is growing. The purpose of this study is to examine on the one hand, the importance of the values associated with childrearing for Latino mothers who have immigrated to this country, and on the other hand, these mothers' perception about those values associated with childrearing in the United States. Your participation will help us understand the cultural differences that may exist in the experience of being parents and raising children in a foreign country.

ELEGIBILITY

All Latino mothers who have at least one child between the ages of 1 and 11 years old living at home are invited to participate. It is necessary that these mothers speak primarily Spanish and have immigrated to the US at least one year ago.

PROCEDURES

Each participant will have to complete a questionnaire packet that will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

COMPENSATION

Your participation in this project will automatically enter you in a lottery where you will be able to win \$200. The lottery will take place at the end of the study, which will have an approximate duration of one year.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The information collected from each participant will be kept strictly confidential. Your name will not be attached to any of the information collected; only a number used as a reference will identify it. Your personal information (name, telephone number and address) will be stored in a locked office and once the lottery takes place, this information will be destroyed.

RISKS AND BENEFITS

There is no known risk from being in this study. Neither will you personally benefit from your participation. However, the information collected from you will help us understand the cultural differences that may exist in childrearing, allowing us to find better ways in which to help Latino mothers who raise their children in the United States.

REQUEST FOR MORE INFORMATION

This study is taking place under the supervision of Candice Fischer M.S., a Clinical Psychology doctoral student at the University of Massachusetts. In case you have any questions or concerns about this project, you can contact Candice Fischer at 413-545-5950 or the toll-free number 1-866-878-7109, or contact the Human Subjects Review Board at 413-545-3428 or to the following e-mail: HumanSubjects@ora.umass.edu.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION

You are not under any obligation to participate in this project. You can decide not to participate or discontinue your participation at any time without prejudice.

PLEASE READ AND SIGN THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT IF YOU AGREE

I have had the chance to read the information in this consent form, and I wish to participate in this project. There are two copies of this form, I will keep one and I will return the signed copy to Candice Fischer. I give my consent to participate in this study.

Name

Date

Signature

APPENDIX A.2: Demographic Information Form

Demographic Information

Age _____

Marital Status (circle one):

- ☐ single (never married) ☐ married ☐ separated ☐ other _____
☐ divorced ☐ widowed ☐ live-in partner

Do you consider yourself Latina? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If you are married or living with a partner, is your husband or partner Latino? ☐ Yes ☐ No

How would you describe your race/ethnicity/ and/or nationality? (If multiracial, please check all that apply)

- ☐ White/ Caucasian ☐ African-American ☐ Other _____
☐ Dominican ☐ American ☐ Guatemalan
☐ Honduran ☐ Colombian ☐ Peruvian
☐ Argentinean ☐ Chilean ☐ Bolivian
☐ Puerto Rican ☐ Mexican/ Chicana ☐ Cuban

In which country were you born? _____

In which country were your parents born? _____

How many years have you lived in the U.S.? _____ From what age to what age? _____

Have you lived in a country other than the USA or your native country? Yes / No /

If yes, which country? _____

Please state from what age to what age you lived in this country, _____

What was the reason for your immigration to USA? (Please check all that apply)

- ☐ Economical ☐ Family ☐ Studies
☐ Political ☐ Other _____

Please specify (*optional) your reason for immigrating to the United States: _____

Do you have plans to live again in your country of origin? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If the answer is yes, when do you think you will permanently return to your country? _____

What language is mainly spoken at home? _____

How many children live at home with you? _____

Please describe in the following table the age, gender, country of origin and behavior for each one of your sons and daughters living with you.

<u>Age</u>	<u>Gender (M or F)</u>	<u>In which country was he/she born</u>	<u>How is his/her behavior</u> (Terrible, Very Bad, Bad, Average, Good, Very Good or Excellent)

Do you or your family have a religious affiliation? ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know

If yes, please identify _____

How important is this religion in your every-day life?

☐ Not important ☐ Somewhat important ☐ Important
☐ Very important ☐ Don't know

Which is the highest educational degree you have attained? (check one alternative)

☐ 8th grade ☐ 9th grade ☐ 10th grade ☐ 11th grade
☐ H.S. Diploma ☐ G.E.D. ☐ Vocational degree ☐ Associate degree
☐ Bachelor's Degree ☐ Professional Degree in my country of origin
☐ Master's degree ☐ Ph.D. ☐ J.D. ☐ M.D.
☐ Other _____

How happy or satisfied do you feel with your life?

1	2	3	4	5
Completely unsatisfied or unhappy	Somewhat unsatisfied or unhappy	Satisfied or happy	Very satisfied or happy	Completely satisfied or happy

How happy or satisfied do you feel with your family?

1	2	3	4	5
Completely unsatisfied or unhappy	Somewhat unsatisfied or unhappy	Satisfied or happy	Very satisfied or happy	Completely satisfied or happy

How happy or satisfied do you feel living in the United States?

1	2	3	4	5
Completely unsatisfied or unhappy	Somewhat unsatisfied or unhappy	Satisfied or happy	Very satisfied or happy	Completely satisfied or happy

Which are the values or maternal characteristics that you consider most important in order to be a good mother and properly raise children?

1- _____
2- _____
3- _____
4- _____
5- _____

Which are the values or maternal characteristics that you believe American mothers in the U.S. consider most important in order to be a good mother and properly raise their children?

1- _____
2- _____
3- _____
4- _____
5- _____

APPENDIX A.3: Parent-Centered Values Questionnaire

Parent-Centered Values Questionnaire (PCVQ)

This questionnaire includes a list of maternal values or attributes that may be important for childrearing. Please:

1) How important do you consider these maternal values in order to be a good mother and to properly raise children? Fill in the circle that applies for each value.

To be a good mother it is important to.....	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important	Essential
___ Be Understanding	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Consistent	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Have trust in your children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Creative	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Have Economical Resources	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be an Example for the Children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Loving	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Set Limits	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Give freedom to the children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Loyal to the Family	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Mature/Responsible	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Have Patience	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Have Dignity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Religious/ Spiritual	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Strict	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Flexible	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Affectionate	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Have Sense of Humor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

___ Be an Authority Figure	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Honest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be a Disciplinarian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2) Place an "X" beside the 5 values that you consider most important in order to be a good mother and properly raise children.

Now you will find the same list of maternal values. This time we would like for you to think about those values or characteristics that you believe American mothers value most. Please,

1) How important do you think American mothers consider these maternal values in order to be a good mother and properly raise their children? Fill in the circle that applies for each value.

In my opinion <u>American mothers</u> believe that to be a good mother it is important to.....	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important	Essential
___ Be Understanding	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Consistent	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Have trust in your children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Creative	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Have Economical Resources	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be an Example for the Children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Loving	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Set Limits	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Give freedom to the children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Loyal to the Family	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Mature/Responsible	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Have Patience	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Have Dignity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Religious/ Spiritual	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Strict	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Flexible	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be Affectionate	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Have Sense of Humor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be an Authority Figure	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

___ Be Honest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Be a Disciplinarian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2) Place an “X” beside the 5 values that you believe American mothers in the U.S. consider most important in order to be a good mother and properly raise their children.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRES IN SPANISH

- B.1 Hoja de Consentimiento
- B.2 Información Demográfica
- B.3 Cuestionario de Valores Maternos

APPENDIX B.1: Hoja de Consentimiento

HOJA DE CONSENTIMIENTO

Título del Proyecto: Valores de Crianza en Madres Latinas

Investigadora Principal: Candice Fischer M.S.

.....

PROPOSITO DEL ESTUDIO

El porcentaje de padres Latino-Americanos que emigran a los Estados Unidos es cada vez mayor. El propósito de este estudio es examinar por un lado la importancia de los valores asociados a la crianza para las madres Latinas que han emigrado a este país y, por otro, la percepción de aquellas madres sobre los valores asociados a la crianza de los hijos en los Estados Unidos. De antemano le agradecemos su participación, la que nos ayudará a entender las diferencias culturales que pueden existir en la experiencia de ser padres y criar niños en el extranjero.

ELEGIBILIDAD

Están invitadas a participar en este proyecto todas aquellas madres Latinas que tengan al menos un hijo, entre las edades de 1 a 11 años, viviendo en el mismo hogar. Es necesario que el primer idioma de aquellas madres sea el español, y que hayan emigrado a los Estados Unidos hace más de un año.

PROCEDIMIENTOS

Cada participante deberá completar los cuestionarios adjuntos, lo cual tomará aproximadamente 30 minutos.

COMPENSACION

Al participar en este proyecto, usted ingresará automáticamente en una lotería donde podrá ganar un premio de \$200. La rifa se realizará al finalizar el estudio, que tendrá una duración aproximada de un año.

CONFIDENCIALIDAD

La información proporcionada por cada participante será estrictamente confidencial. Su nombre no aparecerá en ninguno de los formularios, los cuales serán identificados utilizando únicamente un número como referencia. Su información personal (nombre, número de teléfono y dirección) será archivada bajo llave, y una vez realizada la lotería, esta información será destruida.

RIESGOS Y BENEFICIOS

No se conoce riesgo alguno como consecuencia de participar en este proyecto. Tampoco se beneficiará usted personalmente con su participación. Sin embargo, la información proporcionada por usted nos ayudará a entender las diferencias culturales que existen en la crianza de los niños, permitiéndonos encontrar mejores maneras para ayudar a madres Latinas que deben criar a sus hijos en los Estados Unidos.

PARA SOLICITAR INFORMACION ADICIONAL

Este estudio está siendo llevado a cabo bajo la supervisión de Candice Fischer M.S., alumna del programa de doctorado de Psicología Clínica en la Universidad de Massachusetts. En caso de que tenga dudas o preguntas acerca de este proyecto, puede contactar a Candice Fischer al 413-545-

5950 o al número gratuito 1-866-878-7109, o contactar al Human Subjects Review Board al 413-545-3428 o al e-mail: HumanSubjects@ora.umass.edu.

PARTICIPACION VOLUNTARIA

Usted no está bajo ninguna obligación de participar en este proyecto. Puede decidir no participar y puede discontinuar su participación en cualquier momento sin ningún prejuicio.

POR FAVOR LEA Y FIRME LO DESCRITO A CONTINUACIÓN SI ES QUE ESTA DE ACUERDO

He tenido la oportunidad de leer la información descrita en este formulario de consentimiento, y deseo participar en este proyecto de investigación. Hay dos copias de este formulario, me quedará yo con una y la otra se la entregaré firmada a Candice Fischer. Doy mi consentimiento para participar en este proyecto de investigación.

Nombre

Fecha

Firma

APPENDIX B.2: Información Demográfica

Información Demográfica

Su edad _____

Estado civil (marque una de las alternativas):

- ☐ soltera (nunca se casó) ☐ casada ☐ separada ☐ otro _____
☐ divorciada ☐ viuda ☐ pareja cohabitante (viviendo juntos)

¿Se considera usted Latina? ☐ Sí ☐ No

¿Si es que esta casada o convive con una pareja, es su pareja o marido Latino? ☐ Sí ☐ No

¿Cómo describiría usted su raza/etnicidad y/o nacionalidad? (Si es de raza mixta, marque todas las que se apliquen)

- ☐ Blanca/ Caucásica ☐ Africana-Americana ☐ Otro _____
☐ Puertorriqueña ☐ Americana ☐ Guatemalteca
☐ Venezolana ☐ Colombiana ☐ Peruana
☐ Argentina ☐ Chilena ☐ Boliviana
☐ Salvadoreña ☐ Mexicana ☐ Dominicana

¿En que país nació? _____

¿Dónde nacieron sus padres? _____

¿Cuántos años ha vivido en los Estados Unidos? _____ ¿Entre qué edad y qué edad? _____

¿Ha vivido usted en algún otro país (distinto al país donde nació y a USA)? Sí / No

¿Cuál? _____

Por favor señale entre qué edades vivió en ese país _____

¿Cuál fue el motivo de su migración a los Estados Unidos? (seleccione todas las que se apliquen)

- ☐ Económico ☐ Familiar ☐ Estudios
☐ Político ☐ Otro motivo _____

Por favor especifique (*opcional) su razón para emigrar a los Estados Unidos: _____

¿Tiene planes de volver a vivir en su país de origen? ☐ Sí ☐ No

Si es así, ¿cuándo cree usted que va a regresar en forma permanente a su país? _____

¿Qué idioma se habla principalmente en su hogar? _____

¿Cuántos niños viven en el hogar con usted? _____

A continuación hay una tabla, por favor describa la edad, sexo, país de origen, y conducta para cada uno de sus hijos o hijas que viven con usted.

<u>Edad</u>	<u>Sexo (M o F)</u>	<u>En qué país nació</u>	<u>Como se comporta</u> (Pésimo, Muy Mal, Mal, Promedio, Bien, Muy Bien o Excelente)

¿Pertenece usted o su familia a alguna religión? ☐ Sí ☐ No ☐ No estoy segura

Por favor identifique su religión _____

¿Cuán importante es la religión en su vida diaria?

☐ No es importante ☐ Un poco importante ☐ Importante
☐ Muy importante ☐ No estoy segura

¿Cuál es el grado educacional más alto que usted ha alcanzado? (elija una de las alternativas)

☐ 8^{vo} grado ☐ 9^{no} grado ☐ 10^{mo} grado ☐ 11^{vo} grado
☐ Enseñanza Media/Secundaria (H.S. Diploma)
☐ G.E.D. ☐ Vocational degree ☐ Associate degree ☐ Bachelor's Degree
☐ Título Técnico en mi país de origen ☐ Título Profesional en mi país de origen
☐ Master's degree ☐ Ph.D. ☐ J.D. ☐ M.D.
☐ Otro _____

¿Cuán satisfecha o feliz se siente con su vida?

1	2	3	4	5
Completamente Insatisfecha o infeliz	Un poco insatisfecha o infeliz	Satisfecha o feliz	Muy Satisfecha o feliz	Completamente Satisfecha o feliz

¿Cuán satisfecha o feliz se siente con su familia?

1	2	3	4	5
Completamente Insatisfecha o infeliz	Un poco insatisfecha o infeliz	Satisfecha o feliz	Muy Satisfecha o feliz	Completamente Satisfecha o feliz

¿Cuán satisfecha o feliz se siente de vivir en los Estados Unidos?

1	2	3	4	5
Completamente Insatisfecha o infeliz	Un poco insatisfecha o infeliz	Satisfecha o feliz	Muy Satisfecha o feliz	Completamente Satisfecha o feliz

¿Cuáles son los valores o características maternas que usted considera más importantes para ser una buena madre y para la crianza apropiada de los hijos?

1- _____
2- _____
3- _____
4- _____
5- _____

¿Cuáles son los valores o características maternas que usted cree que las madres Americanas en este país (Estados Unidos) consideran más importantes para ser una buena madre y para la crianza adecuada de los hijos?

1- _____
2- _____
3- _____
4- _____
5- _____

APPENDIX B.3: Cuestionario de Valores Maternos

Cuestionario de Valores Maternos (PCVQ)

A continuación hay una lista de valores o atributos maternos que pueden ser importantes para la crianza de los hijos. Por favor:

1) ¿Cuán importante considera que son cada uno de estos valores maternos para ser una buena madre y para la crianza adecuada de los hijos? Rellene el círculo que corresponda para cada valor.

Para ser una buena madre es importante...	No Importante	Poco Importante	Importante	Muy Importante	Esencial
___ Ser Comprensiva	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Consistente	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Tener Confianza en los hijos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Creativa	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Tener Recursos Económicos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser un Ejemplo Para los Hijos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Cariñosa	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Poner Límites	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Darle Libertad a los Hijos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Leal a la Familia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Madura/ Responsable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Tener Paciencia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Tener Dignidad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Religiosa/Espiritual	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Estricta	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Flexible	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Afectuosa	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

___ Tener Sentido del Humor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Una Figura de Autoridad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Honesta	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Poner Disciplina	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2) Marque con una “X” a la izquierda de los **5** valores que usted considera **MÁS IMPORTANTES** para ser una buena madre y para la crianza adecuada de los hijos.

A continuación encontrará la misma lista de valores o atributos maternos. Esta vez le pedimos que piense en aquellos valores o características que usted cree que las madres Americanas más valoran. Por favor,

1) Piense en las madres Americanas aquí en los Estados Unidos, ¿qué importancia cree usted, le darían estas madres a cada uno de los siguientes valores? Rellene el círculo que corresponda para cada valor.

En mi opinión, las <u>madres Americanas</u> consideran importante para ser una buena madre....	No Importante	Poco Importante	Importante	Muy Importante	Esencial
___ Ser Comprensiva	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Consistente	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Tener Confianza en los hijos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Creativa	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Tener Recursos Económicos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser un Ejemplo Para los Hijos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Cariñosa	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Poner Límites	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Darle Libertad a los Hijos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Leal a la Familia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Madura/ ___ Responsable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Tener Paciencia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Tener Dignidad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Religiosa/Espiritual	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Estricta	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Flexible	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Afectuosa	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Tener Sentido del Humor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

___ Ser Una Figura de Autoridad	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Ser Honesta	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
___ Poner Disciplina	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2) Marque con una “X” a la izquierda de los **5 valores** que en su opinión **las madres Americanas** en este país (Estados Unidos) consideran **MÁS IMPORTANTES** para ser una buena madre y para la crianza adecuada de los hijos.

APPENDIX C

TABLES

Table 1

Empirically Derived Model of Beliefs

Adult-centered beliefs	Child-centered beliefs	Cultural transformation beliefs
Children need to respect and continue with the traditions valued by their culture	Parents should give children freedom to think and act as they like	It is easier to raise children in my country of origin than in the U.S
Parents who provide their children with a strong foundation can be confident that their children will not give in to bad influences	Children should be allowed to make important decisions for themselves	To be successful in this country my child will have to lose some aspects of his/her culture
Parent's primary responsibility is to teach and model proper behavior	Parents should leave children's education in hands of school	I need different parenting strategies to raise my children in the U.S. than I would have needed in my country of origin
Controlling your child's behavior is central to good parenting	Parents should listen and respect their children's opinions even if they disagree with them	Since I immigrated to the U.S. my ideas of what is the best way to parent children have changed.
As a parent you need to show that you are the authority to gain respect	Parents and their children should be like best friends	
Parents should make all the decisions regarding the children and the family.		

Table 2

Mothers' Level of Education by Country of Origin

	Zones			
	1	2	3	4
	South America I	South America II	Central America	Caribbean Islands
Number of mothers with 12 years of education or less	3 (10%)	6 (24%)	16 (67%)	9 (56%)
Number of mothers with more than 12 years of education	28 (90%)	19 (76%)	8 (33%)	7 (44%)
Total number by zone	31	25	24	16

Note: South America I: Argentina, Chile & Uruguay; South America II: Colombia, Ecuador, Peru & Venezuela; Central America: Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico & Salvador; Caribbean Islands: Cuba, Puerto Rico, Republica Dominicana.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for Parent-Centered Values of the PCVQ

Parent-Centered Value	Own Value		Dominant Value		T-test		Adjusted Own Value		Adjusted Dominant Value		T-test (Adjusted)	
	M (SD)	N=97	M (SD)	N=92	t (91)		M (SD)	N=97	M (SD)	N=92	t (91)	
1. Be Understanding	4.34 (0.75)		3.59 (1.02)		6.39**		0.37 (0.6)		0.34 (0.8)		0.19	
2. Be Consistent	4.36 (0.74)		3.40 (1.15)		7.76**		0.4 (0.72)		0.15 (0.83)		2.66*	
3. Have trust in your children	4.41 (0.75)		3.56 (1.06)		6.9**		0.44 (0.65)		0.3 (0.81)		1.39	
4. Be Creative	3.53 (0.86)		3.45 (1.13)		0.77		-0.45 (0.76)		0.2 (0.89)		-5.37**	
5. Have Economical Resources	2.96 (1.07)		4.13 (0.99)		-8.39**		-1.01 (1.03)		0.88 (1.14)		-12.71**	
6. Be an Example for the Children	4.38 (0.82)		3.24 (1.06)		9.56**		0.41 (0.67)		-0.02 (0.89)		4.17**	
7. Be Loving	4.64 (0.6)		3.26 (1.02)		12.38**		0.66 (0.52)		0.01 (0.71)		6.99**	
8. Place Limits	4.3 (0.77)		2.96 (1.33)		8.22**		0.33 (0.7)		-0.3 (1.12)		4.29**	
9. Give freedom to the children	3.21 (0.83)		3.95 (1.11)		-5.47**		-0.75 (0.85)		0.69 (1.06)		-11.1**	
10. Be Loyal to the Family	4.24 (0.78)		3.02 (1.11)		10.18**		0.27 (0.62)		-0.23 (0.79)		4.89**	

Table 3 (continued)

Means and Standard Deviations for Parent-Centered Values of the PCVQ

Parent-Centered Value	Own Value		Dominant Value		T-test t (91)	Adjusted Own Value		Adjusted Dominant Value		T-test (Adjusted) t (91)
	M (SD) N=97		M (SD) N=92			M (SD) N=97		M (SD) N=92		
11. Be Mature/Responsible	4.28 (0.72)		3.33 (1.03)		8.33**	0.31 (0.56)		0.07 (0.7)		2.63*
12. Have Patience	4.43 (0.68)		3.37 (1.11)		9.2**	0.46 (0.55)		0.12 (0.72)		3.76**
13. Have Dignity	4.09 (0.88)		3.12 (0.98)		9.16**	0.12 (0.67)		-0.13 (0.68)		3.08*
14. Be Religious/ Spiritual	3.18 (1.27)		2.43 (1.25)		4.72**	-0.79 (1.11)		-0.84 (1.1)		0.50
15. Be Strict	3.26 (0.82)		2.75 (1.09)		3.5**	-0.71 (0.72)		-0.5 (0.93)		-1.98
16. Be Flexible	3.56 (0.84)		3.28 (1.10)		1.89	-0.41 (0.71)		0.03 (0.99)		-3.54**
17. Be Affectionate	4.34 (0.75)		3.02 (1.08)		10.71**	0.37 (0.61)		-0.23 (0.77)		5.44**
18. Have Sense of Humor	3.78 (0.97)		3.03 (1.05)		5.62**	-0.19 (0.82)		-0.22 (0.82)		-0.09
19. Be an Authority Figure	3.45 (1.07)		2.89 (1.12)		4.31**	-0.52 (0.95)		-0.36 (0.86)		-1.52
20. Be Honest	4.48 (0.72)		3.45 (1.13)		8.43**	0.51 (0.59)		0.2 (0.81)		3.25*
21. Be Disciplinarian	4.11 (0.83)		3.07 (1.24)		7.16**	0.14 (0.66)		-0.19 (0.89)		2.95*

Note. Significant differences are indicated as follows: * p <= .01 ** p <= .001

Table 4

Paired Sampled T-Test for Dimensions of Parent-Centered Values

	Non-Adjusted			Adjusted		
	M (SD) N=91		T-test t (90)	M (SD) N=91		T-test t (90)
	Own	Dominant		Own	Dominant	
Dimension 1- Relational Qualities	4.43 (0.46)	3.35 (0.85)	12.65**	0.47 (0.29)	0.1 (0.44)	5.99**
Dimension 2- Self-Actualization Qualities: Role Modeling	4.35 (0.56)	3.28 (0.78)	12.97**	0.36 (0.36)	0.02 (0.39)	6.49**
Dimension 3- Self-Actualization Qualities: Promoting a Stimulating Environment	3.64 (0.75)	3.24 (0.94)	3.70**	-0.34 (0.6)	-0.01 (0.64)	-3.58**
Dimension 4- Economical Resources	2.98 (1.09)	4.12 (0.99)	-8.39**	-1.01 (1.05)	0.85 (1.12)	-12.71**
Dimension 5- High Parental Control Qualities	3.6 (0.67)	2.9 (1.01)	5.82**	-0.38 (0.53)	-0.35 (0.7)	-0.32
Dimension 6- Firm Control Qualities	4.36 (0.6)	3.16 (1.06)	9.46**	0.37 (0.56)	-0.1 (0.73)	4.71**
Dimension 7- Low Control Qualities	3.37 (0.68)	3.6 (0.88)	-2.1	-0.62 (0.6)	0.35 (0.78)	-9.45**
Dimension 8- Religious/ Spiritual	3.23 (1.24)	2.43 (1.25)	4.72**	-0.75 (1.11)	-0.84 (1.1)	0.50
Dimension 9- Loyal to the Family	4.24 (0.77)	3.02 (1.11)	10.18**	0.27 (0.63)	-0.23 (0.79)	4.89**

Note. Significant differences are indicated as follows: * p <= .01 ** p <= .001

Table 5

Differences in Parent-Centered Values across Countries of Origin

	Zones						F(3,83)	Tukey
	1	2	3	4				
	South America I M (SD) N=26	South America II M (SD) N=22	Central America M (SD) N=23	Caribbean Islands M (SD) N=16				
Dimension 1- Relational Qualities	0.56 (0.34)	0.47 (0.24)	0.4 (0.21)	0.32 (0.29)			3.05	
Dimension 2- Self-Actualization Qualities: Role Modeling	0.29 (0.5)	0.4 (0.29)	0.37 (0.3)	0.29 (0.34)			0.46	
Dimension 3- Self-Actualization Qualities: Promoting a Stimulating Environment	-0.21 (0.51)	-0.48 (0.62)	-0.27 (0.65)	-0.32 (0.59)			0.89	
Dimension 4- Economical Resources	-1.47 (0.79)	-1.18 (0.91)	-0.92 (1.18)	-0.13 (0.77)			7.12**	1 < 4**; 2 < 4*
Dimension 5- High Parental Control Qualities	-0.47 (0.6)	-0.38 (0.42)	-0.34 (0.64)	-0.26 (0.45)			0.55	
Dimension 6- Firm Control Qualities	0.49 (0.57)	0.43 (0.44)	0.32 (0.52)	0.05 (0.71)			2.26	
Dimension 7- Low Control Qualities	-0.36 (0.72)	-0.66 (0.61)	-0.75 (0.49)	-0.51 (0.5)			1.98	
Dimension 8- Religious/ Spiritual	-1.4 (0.92)	-0.64 (1.08)	-0.27 (0.9)	-0.38 (1.11)			6.27**	1 < 3**; 1 < 4*
Dimension 9- Loyal to the Family	0.45 (0.63)	0.41 (0.56)	0.16 (0.56)	0.12 (0.53)			1.79	

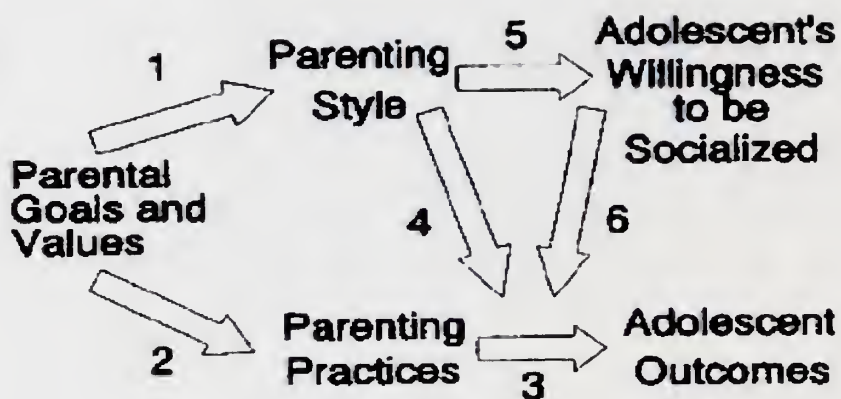
Note: Manova for standardized Latino values. South America I: Argentina, Chile & Uruguay; South America II: Colombia, Ecuador, Peru & Venezuela; Central America: Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico & Salvador; Caribbean Islands: Cuba, Puerto Rico, Republica Dominicana. Significant differences are indicated as follows: * p <= .01 ** p <= .001

APPENDIX D

FIGURES

Figure 1

Contextual Model of Parenting Style



Darling & Steinberg,

1993, p.493

Figure 2

Expanded Model of Parenting

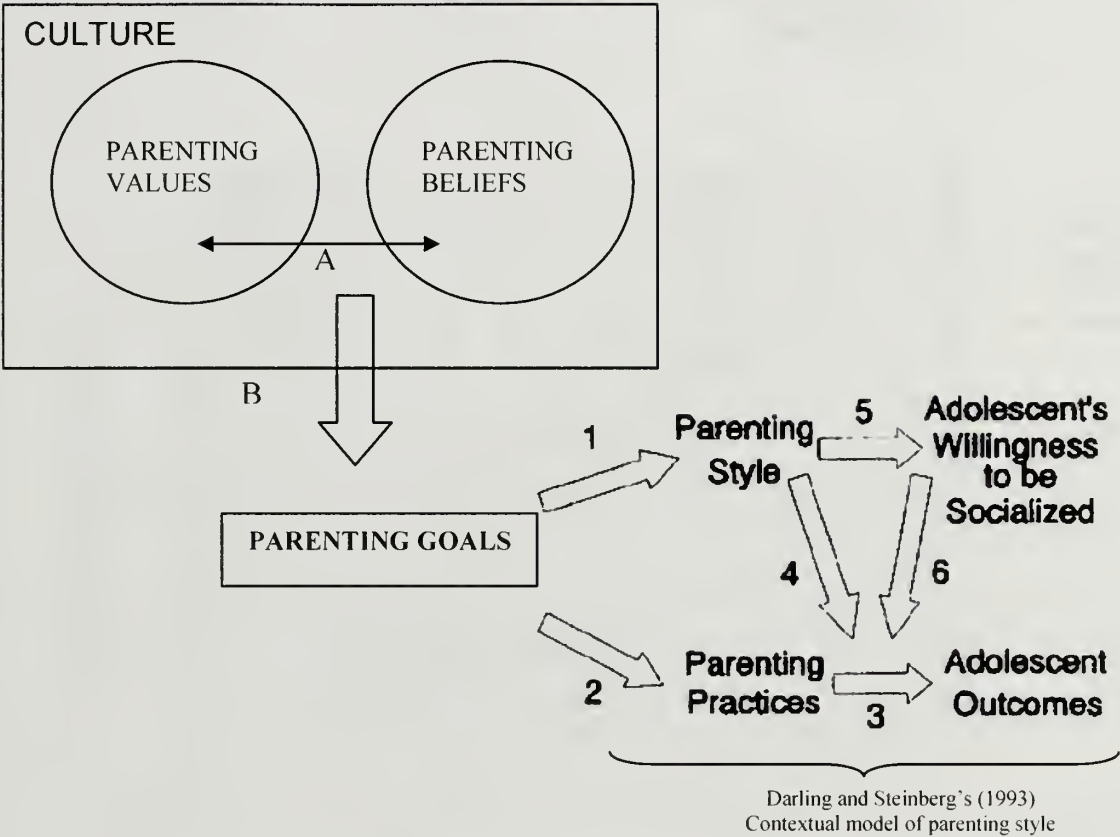


Figure 3

Expanded Model of Parenting: Differentiation of Values and Beliefs

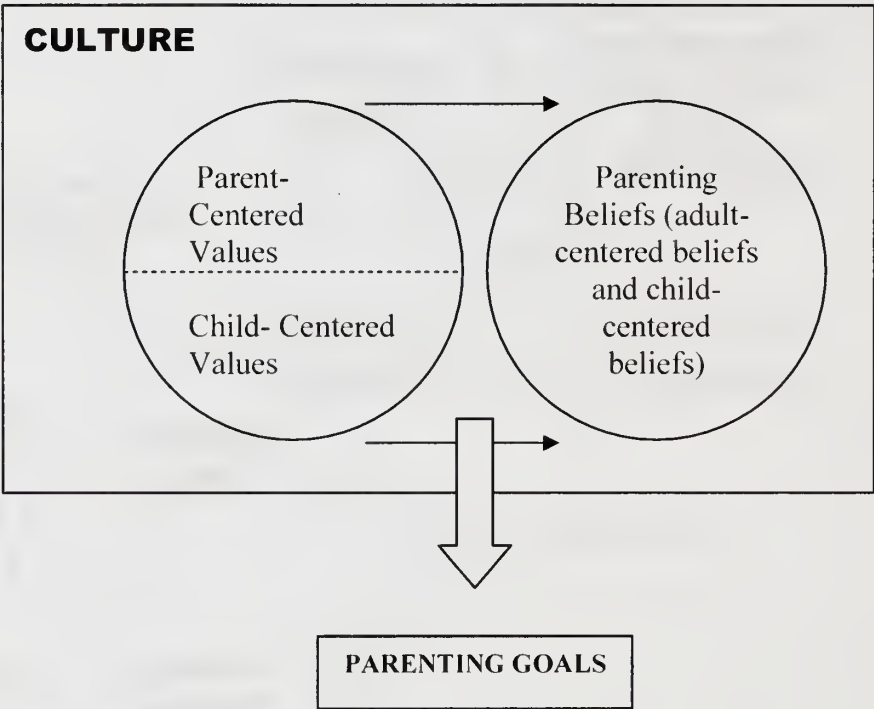
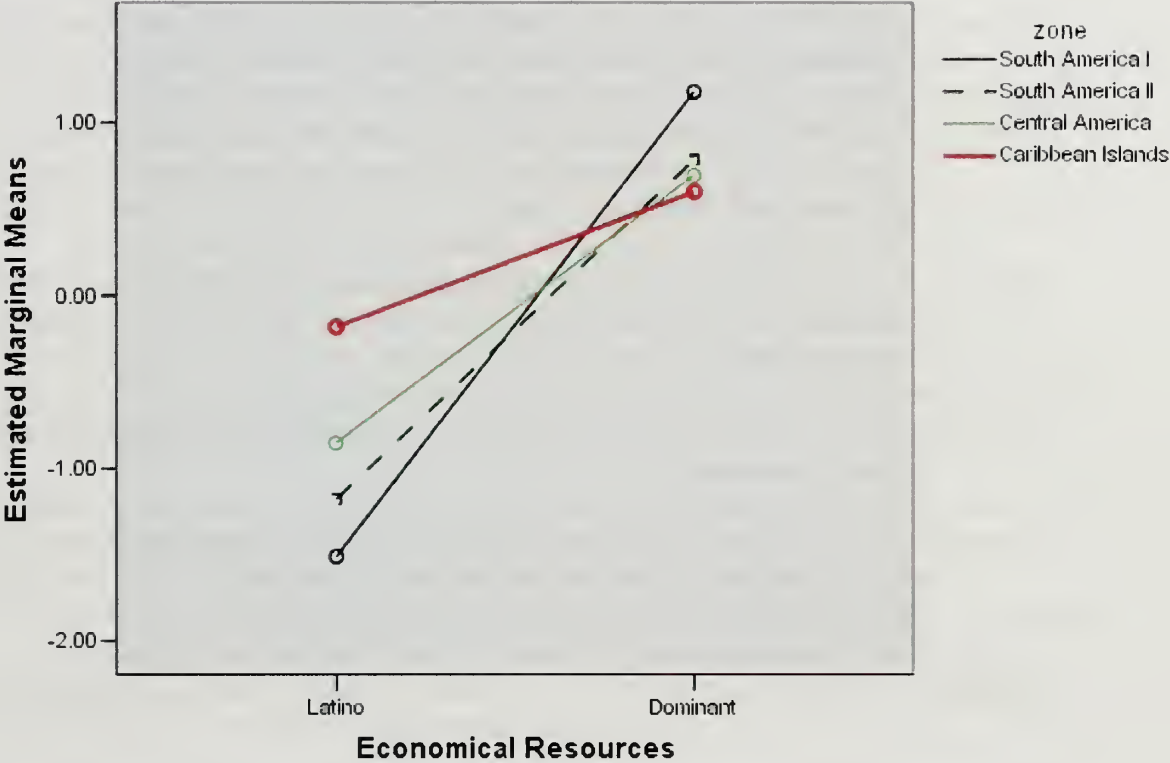


Figure 4

Interaction between Country of Origin and Economic Resources



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